(SRI B. R. SUNTHANKAR)

Maharashtra, and along with that, they should bring back the Kannada areas which are lying outside the State. With these words, I thank you for your indulgence and close my speech.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—Is it the desire of the House that the debate on this resolution should be postponed ?

HON'BLE MEMBERS.—Yes.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—The discussion on this resolution is postponed. The next resolution.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTION

***Re*-Keeping Goa as an independent territory directly under the administration of the Government for ten years and thereafter should be allowed to decide its own future.**

Sri GANJI VEERAPPA.—I move:

"That this Assembly recommends to the State Government to urge upon the Government of India to keep Goa as an independent territory directly under the administration of the Union Government for ten years and thereafter should be allowed to decide its own future."

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—Resolution moved:

"That this Assembly recommends to the State Government to urge upon the Government of India to keep Goa as an independent territory directly under the administration of the Union Government for ten years and thereafter should be allowed to decide its own future."

Sri B. P. KADAM.—On a point of order. Goa is a State by itself and having its own Government. This is also a State within the Indian Union. How is this Assembly competent to discuss about it ?

Sri N. HUCHMASTHY GOWDA (Chandrashekarpura).—On a point of order. The Hon'ble Member is not in his seat.

(Laughter)

Sri B. P. KADAM.—The Goa Assembly head passed a Resolution and made its wishes clear. In what way this Assembly competent to to fetter down that decision and there by the people of Goa ? Therefore this resolution is a nullity and even if it is tabled, the House is not competent to debate upon it.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—When a matter has been dilated upon by another Assembly, the Hon,ble Member means to say that this Assembly cannot give its opinion.

Sri B. P. KADAM (Karwar).—It is not by another Assembly; it is dilated upon by the concerned Assembly competent to look in to the matter and discuss the matter. For this Assembly it is extraneous matter.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—There is no point of order.

Sri A. J. DODDAMETI.—I move the following amendment:

"That the following words be added at the end of the Resolution:

"as to whether Goa should remain as an independent State or merged with the State of Mysore or with the State of Maharashtra."

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]

Mr. SPEAKER.—Amendment moved:

"That the following words be added at the end of the resolution:

"as to whether Goa should remain as an independent State or merged with the State of Mysore or with the State of Maharashtra."

†Sri GANJI VEERAPPA.—This is a resolution of great consequence and of historic importance so far as it relates to the future of Goa. Sir, we all know that Goa was under foreign subjugation under the Portuguese Rule for a period of nearly 450 years and it is to the credit of our leaders and to the Government of India that in view of the stand taken by them at a very critical juncture Goa was liberated in the year 1961. Thanks to the farsighted leadership of late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, but for whose sagacity and strength and courage, perhaps this result would not have been achieved so early.

Sir, now the question is, after the liberation of Goa, whether Goa should remain as an independent State in the Indian territory or should merge with the neighbouring States of Maharashtra or Mysore. That is the question before us. Sir, it is necessary in this connection to enter into the historical background of Goa and also to analyse the cultural and economic ties of Goa with the neighbouring State of Maharashtra or Mysore. There are three aspects here:

(1) whether Goa should remain independent for some time more; or

(2) whether it should merge with Maharashtra; or

(3) whether it should merge with Mysore.

We must also in this connection remember the decision taken by the Government of India in this matter. Another matter of consequence

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is, the elections that were held in Goa recently after the liberation of Goa. Sir, before I proceed to say that the historical background of Goa and cultural and economic ties of Goa with the neighbouring States. I wish to say that in this matter the Government of India has taken a particular decision. It is very appropriate for me in this connection to bring to the notice of this August House that the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave a lead in this matter. As a consequence of that, that decision was taken.

Sri V. S. PATIL.—May I know from the Hon'ble Member as to whether the decision regarding Goa was taken by the Central Government or by the Congress Parliamentary Board.

Sri GANJI VEERAPPA.—The Congress Parliamentary Board no doubt took the decision and later it was accepted by the Government of India.

Sri V. S. PATIL.—Is there any decision by the Central Government?

Sri GANJI VEERAPPA.—I am substantiating the whole thing. I am placing the entire matter for consideration before this August House so that.....

Mr. SPEAKER.—Throughout the debate, we must all remember that we are discussing the matter of an area which is not within the territorial jurisdiction of our State and we are only giving our opinion and ideas so that the Central Government may be apprised of it. I am mentioning that particularly because primarily the matter rests with the persons of Goa State. We can discuss it in a manner that we do not wound the feelings of the citizens of Goa. It is for them to decide finally. But we are entitled to express our opinion.

Sri V. S. PATIL.—Sir, the important question is whether the decision regarding Goa is taken by the Central Government or by the Parliamentary Board of the Congress Party.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The Prime Minister speaks. Our late Prime Minister Nehru spoke in his capacity as Prime Minister.

Sri V. S. PATIL.—Here our Chief Minister speaks so many things. That cannot amount to a decision of the Government.

Mr. SPEAKER.—It is the policy of the Government.

Sri GANJI VEERAPPA.—Sir, the doubts entertained by my Hon'ble friend Sri V. S. Patil will be clarified and it will become very clear if I place further facts before him. In fact, so far as this matter is concerned, I know we are not the ultimate authority to take a decision. After all it is the Government of India and the Parliament that has to take the final decision with regard to the future of Goa. But it is nevertheless necessary for us to remember in this connection the previous decision taken by the Government of India.

MR. SPEAKER.—It is open to us to invite friends in Goa to join us. It is perfectly open to us.

SRI GANJI VEERAPPA.—I was mentioning that when Goa was liberated in the year 1961 this question was raked up. Mysore claimed that Goa is part of Mysore for several reasons and that it should merge in Mysore. Maharashtra began a propaganda that Goa should merge with Maharashtra and in this connection the Chief Minister of Mysore made a reference to the Prime Minister of India and it may be appropriate for me here to read the reply given by the late Prime Minister to the letter of the Chief Minister in this connection. Sir, with your permission, I read the reply of the late Prime Minister Nehru, the revered leader of the country dated 20th May, 1962, in which he has made it clear:

"My dear Sri Nijalingappa:

Your letter of 11th May:

I really do not understand why there is so much excitement over Goa... to Mysore or Maharashtra. I have made it perfectly clear that Goa should remain separate and is not going to join to either of the two States."

So, it was decided and the decision of our late Prime Minister Nehru was that Goa should remain separate for some time more and the Parliament took a positive decision that it should remain separate for a period of ten years and later on this question of the future of Goa should be tackled. Sir, having this background, in fact my resolution before this August House is, that is my strong feeling that Mysore has the best case so far as Goa is concerned and Goa should merge in Mysore. Having this background of the decision of the Government of India and the opinion expressed by the late Panditji in the national interest, I have said that for a period of ten years Goa should remain independent, and then Goa should have the right to decide its own future, whether it should merge with Mysore or Maharashtra or remain independent. That is the gist of my resolution.

Now Sir, with regard to the case of Mysore for Goa, let us remember, and our friends on the other side should know, that for a period of nearly 1,000 years, it is Karnataka Kings that ruled over Goa. Historical facts are there. We cannot now invent facts which are there. History written hundreds of years back is before us. For 1,000 years Kadamba Rulers of Karnataka ruled Goa, and we know that after that, it was only the Karnataka Rulers, once again the Sultan of Bijapur who held Goa at the time of annexation by the Portuguese in 1510. Therefore, till the year 1510, it was Karnataka Kings that ruled Goa. At no time in the history of Goa, the Mah arashtra Rulers had anything to do with Goa. It is all borne out by historical facts. Maharashtra had nothing to do except occasional conquests by them. Apart from that, there was no rule over Goa by Maharashtra Kings or by any Maharashtra chief at any time. That is the historical background we have to remember in this connection and from which we have

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to think as to how far Goa can have any connection with Karnataka. Historically we also know that Bidanur rulers had ruled over parts of Goa several years. They are people of Karnataka. Even geographically, we can see that Goa is in contiguity with Mysore and practically a part of Mysore and the entire hinterland of Goa is in Mysore and all the commerce and trade in the port of Goa was with Mysore and certainly not with Maharashtra. These are all facts which we cannot brush aside. For emotional reasons to say that Goa should merge here or there is not correct. Let us first analyse historical facts. Based on facts and on situation, we should come to the conclusion whether Mysore has a case or Maharashtra has a case. Looking at the geographical situation of Goa and the trade connections of Goa, you will see that it is only connected with Karnataka. So, I say that historical background goes in support of the merger of Goa in Mysore.

Another important factor which we have to remember is, in Goa there are nearly 14 lakhs of Konkani speaking people. It is a matter of fact, when the Portuguese came in 1510 and disturbed these people, some of them came away and settled down in parts of Northern Karwar and other places. They were all originally in Goa. The present strength of Konkani speaking people is 14 lakhs in Goa, outof which, more than 6 lakhs are in Mysore, and about one lakh of people are in Bombay. By the very fact that over six lakhs of people are in Mysore, you will see that cultural ties and social attachments of Konkani speaking people are naturally with the people of Mysore. Therefore, it is proper that the wishes of the Konkani speaking people now in Goa should be ascertained before a decision in this matter is to be taken in the Parliament.

Then, it may also be remembered that the claim of Mysore over Goa is not a new one. On the other hand, Maharashtra's claim over Goa is only after 1961, after the liberation of Goa from the Portuguese. But the claim of Mysore is not quite new. In the year 1952, the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee took a decision and then made an approach to the then Government of India, waited on a deputation with those in power to press the fact that Goa should merge in Mysore. This decision of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee was eiterated in 1961-62 once again. So, Sir, the *bona fides* of the Mysoreans cannot be questioned. On the other hand, I say that the case of Maharashtra started only recently, *i.e.*, after 1961.

In this connection, it is appropriate for me to bring out the fact that the then Chief Minister of Maharashtra and now the Defence Minister of the Government of India has come out with a public statement that the question of Goa merging into Maharashtra should be taken up. It was a decision taken by the Government of India that for ten years, the question of Goa should not be reopened. When such is the case, it is not understandable how top leaders like this should agitate, to reopen this question which was once settled.

Just now, I was listening with rapt attention to my friend Mr. Sunthankar. When an occasion comes and if the Hon'ble Speaker is pleased to give me an opportunity, I will reply him. Sir, it is always the desire of these friends to rake up matters finally settled, and keep the agitation going on. Is it proper, I ask? Is there no finality in these things? At some place, there must be a finality, acceptance of a decision on certain important problems. They cannot keep the fire burning for all time, especially when matters of national importance is claiming all our attention; when we are facing dangers on the border, when the Chinese are claiming large tracts of India as their own and preparing their own maps including parts of Punjab and Assam these territories are shown as Chinese territories in those maps—our friends cannot take up their present attitude. We are living in the same country and we are facing a national danger, and we should only have the national interest in our minds. Though we have the best case for Goa, in national interests, in the interests of national integrity and national security, I say that this is not the proper time for urging or for creating a nation-wide agitation for the merger of Goa into Mysore. We have to be credited with restraint for saying that in spite of the best case for Goa, we are for keeping the people of Goa, independent, as an independent State for ten years and then we are for respecting the wishes of the Goans whether they would like to merge with Mysore or any other State. We are not prepared to force them. We are not prepared to force our views on them. Here, this is a problem where we are not conquering any part of India. It is not a conquest. We are living in a democratic age. We believe in democratic principles and we believe in self-determination, and I am sure my friends on the other side cannot oppose this. Should we ascertain the wishes of the people or should we act like army leaders of a totalitarian State saying that Goa should come to us?

An HON'BLE MEMBER.—What about the recent decision of the Government in Goa?

Sri GANJI VEERAPPA.—I will come to that. I will analyse the election results and with facts and figures, I am going to show whether it can be taken as correct. So, Sir, the very spirit of my resolution is that we must respect democratic principles, we must respect the wishes of the people of Goa. Unless and until we know the wishes of Goans, we cannot take one side or the other. We cannot take an *exparte* decision. It is not a fight between Mysore and Maharashtra. We are not the people to take any decision nor can the Maharashtrian people take their own decision.

They speak much on the election. I am going to deal on that point. I had been making a reference to what the then Chief Minister of Maharashtra and now the Defence Minister of the Government of India has been stating and agitating.

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12-00 NOON.

Sir, it is appropriate for me here to refer to a speech made by the then Chief Minister of Maharastra on 25th May 1962, which is very relevant now. The then Chief Minister said : " Personally I hold certain views. The State Government is of opinion that we have an affinity for the people of Goa but the question of merging Goa in this or that State is something which I personally do not think it is wise to raise at the present time for such questions should be guided by some principles. The only principle I can think of is, what is best in the interest of nation. It is not in the interest of the nation to raise such a question. It is in accordance with the wishes of the people of Goa to decide such a question. " Sir, what a fine idea and statement which we all have to respect, including my friends who claim Goa for Maharastra ! Their own leader has said this in 1962. If he had said that this is not the time to raise the question of Goa in the interest of the nation, now I think, between 1962 and 1965, not much of a change has taken place. In fact, things have become worse. The national integrity is in danger. We are Indians first and then Mysoreans and Maharastrians. Let us think we are Indians first and guard our mother-land. Time has not changed to revise this opinion. I can only say that due to pressure from Maharastra, whether he likes it or not, perhaps that recent statement has been made by him.

SRI N. O. SAMAJI (Belgaum II).—[In Marathi] On a point of order, Sir,

MR. SPEAKER.— Did the Hon'ble Member read or say that this is the statement, which he is entitled to say giving the gist ? If this is the gist of the statement and if there is nothing wrong, I do not see any objection. If he read it, I shall ask him to place it on the Table of the House and it goes into the record. If he makes a statement saying, this is what he said, under which rule, I have to say or ask him whether he is reading from the news paper, the proceedings of the Assembly or anywhere else ? He says, this is a statement ; then, I must say that he must give the gist of the statement. I never object to giving the gist of the statement.

SRI GANJI VEERAPPA —Sir, I was referring to the statement made by the then Chief Minister of Maharastra and now the Defence Minister of India.

Sir, we will also take another historical background. When elections in Goa were held, what was the issue before the Goans ? It is relevant for us to remember here that in the elections for the Goa Assembly the Congress also participated, Independants participated and the Gomantak party participated. In the Election Manifesto of the Ruling Party what was said should be remembered here. In the Election Manifesto, in item 16, the Government of India have made

it clear that "the future of Goa whether it should merge with the adjoining territory of Maharastra will be ultimately decided according to the wishes of Goans. This question does not arise for the present as we have to stabilise and strengthen the economy and facilitate the changes that are taking place because of the integration of Goa into Indian Union."

Sir, this is what was contained in the Election Manifesto of the Congress Party. The only issue before them was that this question is to be decided after the economic stabilisation and strengthening of Goa. Sir, we must also know that the election results in Goa, whether the majority of Goans were in favour of merger with Maharastra. The election results show that only 74.3 per cent of the total electorate came to the polls, out of which people who voted for the Gomantak Party is 37.4 and for the United Gomantak party 28.44 per cent and for Congress 16.55 per cent and for Independants 10.62. These are facts which cannot be denied. What does this indicate? This only indicates that 37.4 of the people of Goa expressed the desire to merge with Maharastra. The rest—the Congress and the United Gomantaks and the Independents which form the remaining percentage of the voters consisting of their own people, were opposed to this merger because the Congress Party definitely said that this was not the time. The United Gomantak Party definitely said that they wanted to remain independant. So, the elections definitely show that nearly 63 per cent of the people of Goa were opposed to merger. If this is the verdict of the people of Goa on this issue of merger, where is any meaning in saying that the majority of the Goans have expressed their desire for the merger? Is this the sanctity we attach to the agitation by saying that the wishes of the people are in favour of merger with Maharastra? Simply because by a narrow majority of one they have taken a decision in the Assembly that Goa should merge in Maharashtra, is it a desire based upon the wishes of the people. Looking at it from any point of view, we cannot see that this was an indication of the wishes of the people. So, if we have any respect for majority, if we have any regard for democratic principles and the wishes of Goans, we should not take that decision seriously. After all, because Goa is a tiny piece of land and Goans form a negligible minority so far as population is concerned, it is not correct to force them or force their wishes upon them and say that they must come to Maharashtra. Mysore is to be congratulated and history will record that our decision, our restraint and our respect for the Goans' wishes was the wisest. I say that Goa must ultimately come to Mysore and I am sure that Goans by now are realising which State is better. Here is on one side the Maharashtra State which is forcing them to come to them and which is carrying on all sorts of propaganda and corrupting their minds and there is on the other side the Mysore State which is the very anti-thesis of it. We know what took place in the elections. All that has come out in the press. The spirit of conquest should not be there. Sir, it is well known that Goa was under foreign subjugation for 450 years. If we

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go to Goa and see it, we will find that there is absolutely no development there. The people were given to very easy living and educationally, economically and industrially no development has taken place. It was meant to be a pleasure paradise for foreigners to enjoy their holidays. The Goa harbour was made use of by the Portuguese people just to improve their trade and business and to sell their goods in India. Apart from that, the Portuguese people had no regard for the development of Goa and no development has taken place. Under these circumstances, a tiny part like Goa should not merge in a big State like Maharahtra or even Mysore immediately. The Government of India has every sympathy for Goa and Goans and they know that a special treatment should be given for the development of Goa. We have been seeing that in the Central Budget large sums of money are allotted for the development of Goa. The Government of India is doing its very best to see that Goa is developed very well and brought on a par with the neighbouring parts of Mysore and Maharashtra. The Goans have been saying that the interests of Goa demand that Goa should remain as an independent entity for some time more because they are getting special grants from the Government of India so that the economic development of Goa can take place. If anybody wants Goa to merge in Mysore or Maharastra, let it merge as a well-developed area. I say this in the interest of Maharashtra itself because to that extent they will be saved of the bother of spending huge sums of money on Goa. I am sure the same feeling of jubilation will not continue afterwards. Perhaps Goa will have to remain there as a weak link under Maharastra Government. I have moved this resolution with the object that Goa and Goans should have the fullest opportunity to develop themselves in all spheres and when they feel that they are equal socially and economically to the neighbouring parts, let them take a decision. Is that not the correct way? In fact, our stand must be appreciated because if only we started an agitation that Goa must become part of Mysore we will have a better case than Maharastrians. In spite of that, our Chief Minister has made it abundantly clear on several occasions and the Mysore Pradesh Congress Party has taken a decision that the future of Goa should be a matter left to them for decision. The Government of India has also taken a decision that Goa should remain independent for 10 years with due deference to their feelings and wishes.

I was explaining to the Hon'ble Members the election results in Goa. We are hearing in the Press and elsewhere statements made by the Maharashtrian leaders that when once the Goans have expressed their desire to merge in Maharashtra it should be implemented. That is the weapon with which they are approaching the Government of India. In fact, when that resolution was put to vote in the Goan Assembly, only the Maharashtra Gomantak Party people voted and the United Goan Party people were absent.

Sri H. R. KESHAVA MURTHY (Gandasi).—On a point of order, Sir. I cannot understand why these people (pointing to the M.E.S. members) are grumbling. Are they Goans ?

Mr. SPEAKER.—There is no point of order. In the first place, they are not grumbling ; they are only expressing their views though they are interrupting too frequently. Incidently, I find the Hon'ble Member Sri Kadam is interrupting very often. I have been tolerating it for quite a long time and if he cannot stop it he will have to take the consequences of the breach of rule.

Sri B. P. KADAM.—I only meant my interference or interruption to be musical.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Today is the last day of the current sittings and, I want all members to go happily.

Sri GANJI VEERAPPA.—Sir, I was speaking on the most important point on which the agitation of the Maharashtra friends is going on, namely, the wishes of the people of Goa and the Resolution of the Goa Assembly on this question of merger. It is needless for us to dwell at length on the importance and the effect of such a resolution. As I have said, in that meeting several members of the Opposition were not present and that only the members of one party who were in favour of merger were present. If a decision is taken by the Assembly at that time, naturally such a decision cannot have any effect.

(*Interruptions in Marathi*)

Sri GANJI VEERAPPA.—I understand that the Government of India, is thinking of amending the Constitution in order to put an end to this unfortunate controversy at this juncture and that an amendment is likely to be moved in the coming session of the Lok Sabha to the effect that for 10 years more this question need not be raked up. This amendment is likely to be moved in Parliament in the next session. The sooner it is done the better because this unhealthy agitation at this juncture should stop.

I was mentioning that the claim for Goa so far as it relates to Mysore is not new. I was referring also to the resolution passed by the Karnatak Pradesh Congress Committee in 1952 and once again in 1954 another resolution was passed. The Karnatak Pradesh Congress Committee presented a Memorandum to the States Reorganisation Commission when they visited Mysore in 1954. This is the reference that they made in that memorandum :

> "Goa by reasons of history, tradition and culture should form part of Karnatak and at the appropriate time we propose to urge our claim to that."

What a far-sighted decision they took when they presented this memorandum to the States Reorganisation Commission in 1954. If only our claim was first made after the liberation of Goa, then our *bona fides* would have been suspected, but here is proof that

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Mysore has been claiming Goa ever since 1952 tracing their relationship with Goa for thousands of years whereas Maharashtra put forth its claim on Goa first in 1961 and it was only from 1963 that they started this virulent propaganda that Goa is part of Maharashtra. The claim of Maharashtra over Goa is questioned because Maharashtra never ruled over Goa. So I do not think there is any substance in their claim over Goa. But so far as the claims of Mysore over Goa are concerned, important political bodies in Mysore including some literary bodies like the Kannada Sahitya Sammelan have been agitating for a long time that Goa should come to Mysore even looked at from the point of view of cultural ties. I may refer here to the memorandum presented by the Kannada Sahitya Sammelan in Gadag in which they have said that for so many reasons Goa should form part of Mysore.

With regard to Konkani language also, after a lot of controversy and exploration about language ties as to whether Konkani is a dialect of Marathi or Kannada, it is the considered opinion of the Konkani speaking people themselves that Konkani is not a dialect of Marathi but it is a dialect of Kannada.

MR. SPEAKER.—I think the Hon'ble Member can conveniently stop at this stage and resume next.

The House will now stand adjourned to re-assemble at 1.00 P.M. on 26th February 1965.

The House adjourned at Thirty Minutes past Twelve of the Clock to meet again at One of the Clock on Friday, the 26th February 1965.

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